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THE WAR.

Review of the U. S.'s Attitude Towards a Free Cuba.

Not a Free Cuba is Wanted Now by American Capitalism but a War that May Secure Gold Bug Domination—Free Cuba is a Pretext.

> Capital is said by a Quarterly Review to fly turbulence and strife which is very true; but this is very incompletely stating the question. Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent. will insure its employment anywhere, 20 per cent. certain, will produce eagerness; 50 per cent., positive audacity; 100 per cent. will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent.—and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both.
>
> P. J. DUNNING.

This country is now at war with Spain. It may be difficult, at a season when low passions are rampant, for the word of sense to be hearkened. But that is no reason for suppressing it. The Socialist is accustomed to stand up unperturbed against mountain-high errors and deafening nonsense. His success in the past is a guarantee that there is that in reason that secures its ultimate triumph, and lays upon the sane the obligation to utter it regardless of immmediate consequences. Our Comrades, the class-conscious working-class of Spain, are doing their duty in this respect, and, in their own country, are tearing off the mask of "patriotism" from the hideous face of the exploiting class that rules them, and exposing its true object in its Cuban policy. If they, in a more backward country than this, and, consequently, surrounded by denser masses of ignorance than we are, are doing their duty, the duty is all the more imperative upon us to speak out here.

* * *

This war is the direct product of the bestiality of the ruling classes of to-day. Under the pretence of "national dignity," the Spanish ruling class seeks to continue its malfeasances in Cuba. Cuba, like all the American colonies once owned by Spain, has been the pasture ground for the lazy, dissolute Spanish Grandee to recuperate his fortunes. Bankrupted at home by self-indulgence and extravagance, he would secure from his influential partners in a life of crime a "mission to the colonies." As "Captain General," "Governor," "Alcalde," or "Secretary," or with some other of many sinecure titles, the Iberian reprobate would in the colony "enter upon his mission." Extortion, high-handed theft, even murder—he stuck at nothing. His object was to amass as much wealth as possible, in the most rapid manner possible, while living as sumptuously as possible all the while. This is a condensation of Spanish colonial history. From Mexico, down to Argentine, the experience was the same. These colonies, more than eighty years ago put an end to their colonial martyrdom. On a hundred fields of bloody battle the Spanish forces were crushed, and Spanish domination ended.

When the last batch of Spanish Vice-Roys, captured on the bloody fields of Junin and Ayacucho, were packed by the South American revolutionists on board a ship and sent back to Spain with the warning that if they or any of their kind returned they would no longer be treated as belligerents but as brigands, and would be hanged on the nearest trees, the South American revolutionists saw no possessions left to Spain in the Western hemisphere except the larger Antilles—Cuba, San Domingo and Porto Rico.

South America seemed and remained safe. But the presence of Spanish forces in these Antilles alarmed the South Americans. The Liberators did not consider their freedom really secured so long as Spain held those islands in American waters. As a result of this apprehension, the freedom of the islands was decided on; Cuba was the first one to be invaded and freed from Spain by the South American forces. Preparations were made on a large scale. The expedition was about to start. But, from a quarter least anticipated, it found its path barred. What quarter was that?—The Government of the United States.

At that time, the Bourbons and Copper-heads ruled this country. Slavery had become valuable to them, and, consequently, it had been declared by them "sacred." The South American Declaration of Independence from Spain had gone accompanied with the emancipation of the negro. When independence was secured chattel slavery was simultaneously abolished. This was the fly in the ointment. The Government of the United States feared to see Cuba and the other two islands made free by the breath of the South American Revolution: Cuba's freedom would have meant the emancipation of the negro. The Washington administrations, intent at the time, one after another, upon the acquisition of more territory on the continent to extend chattel slavery on, blocked the South American plan. Cuba remained to this day a Spanish colony, groaning under all the ills that that means.

* * *

Since then three distinct attempts were made by the Cubans themselves to shake off the Spanish yoke. The present one is the third. And it is under the pretext of aiding this third attempt that our country now finds herself in war with Spain. The attitude of our capitalist class when it first interfered in behalf of Spain in Cuba is substantially the attitude it strikes now, and even worse. Self interest at the expense of the Cubans caused it to block the South American expedition; and now, self interest, at the expenses of our own working class, causes it to appear as the paladin of Cuban freedom.

That Cuban freedom, however, is not the real object of our Government, a cursory review of the situation will demonstrate.

For three years the Cuban insurgents have been battling against Spain. During this period what was our Government's attitude? It sedulously sought to prevent all aid from reaching the Cuban insurgents. Nor is that all. Having at last come to the opinion that Cuba should be free, what would have been the natural course, if what our Government really was after was the liberation of the island? Would a declaration of war against Spain have been necessary? No.

If the insurrection of Cuba is powerful enough, numerically, to maintain the country free, all that was necessary would have been to recognize her independence, and then open our ports and our markets to both belligerents—Spanish as well as Cubans. The Cubans, suffering for want of arms, could have got here all they wanted: their bonds would have sold readily, and furnished them with an ample treasury to equip themselves. Our Government might have added to that the sending of a Minister Plenipotentiary to reside near Gen. Maximo Gomez. Many a broken-down home politician would have been found ready for the mission. The freedom of Cuba would have been assured. But it would have been assured without war on our part. It is because war was wanted and needed by our Government that the peaceful and natural method was not resorted to.

* * *

The FREEDOM of Cuba is but a pretext, the real object was WAR, and war is but the means to an end that our ruling capitalist class of the Republican variety has clearly in mind, and proposes to pursue athwart the din of "patriotism," and wading knee-deep through the blood of the American as well as the Cuban working class.

First—In the first place, the promised "good times" did not materialize. Neither could they. Consumption is not to be cured with soothing syrup; neither can the ills of the capitalist system be remedied by the gold any more than the silver cure, by the protection any more than the free trade injection. McKinley, as well as Bryan, stood for the continuance of the capitalist system. The election of the former did what the election of the latter would have done, leave the disease untouched. Poverty, with its resulting desperation, is increasing apace. What the quack doc-

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CHALLENGED.

A Sanford Professor Called Down from His High Perch.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., April 1.—It was with considerable impatience, I admit, that I listened to Prof. Jordan's lecture last night. It would only be natural for one to suppose that when he pays to hear a lecture on social subjects by the President of Stanford University he will learn some remedy for the existing ills of society. We all know what they are, and if the best the professor can do is to tell us that nothing can be done, and that "the present social system is the most perfect that ever existed," then he is either a bad teacher or we are in a bad way.

My own opinion is that we are living under the worst possible system the world has ever seen, and that, in fact, it is such a very impossible system that it is rapidly approaching dissolution.

Let us apply Prof. Jordan's dictum and judge simply by experience, and what do we discover?

We find that, joined with the means of production, increased to prodigious proportions, we have the means of distribution diminished to less than that of feudal days.

With the aid of electricity and steam applied to labor-saving machinery, one man can supply the means of support to one hundred, yet, owing to the competitive system, he gets, if lucky enough to have a job, but wages enough to furnish a scant supply for a single family, and in trades where wife and children can work, such as cotton milling, etc., his wages are not enough to support a family, unless augmented by his children's wages. (See Massachusetts labor report.)

I cannot see what grounds the learned professor has for a system that threatens with starvation the workers simply because they produce too much.

The professor advises frugality. Does he know that the evil of to-day is overproduction, and if there were any considerable attempt to follow his advice it would simply accentuate the situation?

It seemed to me that the remarks with which Prof. Jordan finished his lecture,

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USES OF FALSEHOOD.

Sam Gompers, Now Better Known as "Mr. Go," Nailed Once Again.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23.—In the April issue of the "American Federationist" Gompers, in an article headed "Socialism vs. Socialists of New York," prints extracts from the report of the Economic and Industrial Committee of the International Socialist Congress, London, 1896, and with his usual mendacity twists them, takes them out of their proper place, and stops conveniently short when it becomes necessary for his purpose. If Gompers had printed the full text he would stand convicted of misrepresentation. To show how Gompers has deliberately attempted to make capital for himself by taking statements in the aforesaid report out of their proper position and also deliberately refusing to conclude a sentence, I enclose his printed excerpts, and then place them in their proper position. First comes this as Gompers puts it:

"The trade union struggle of the workers is indispensable to resist economic tyranny of capital, and thereby better the actual condition of the toilers. Without trade unions no living wage, and no shortening of hours of labor can be expected."

The report of the committee reads as follows:

"The trade union struggle of the workers is indispensable to resist the economic tyranny of capital, and thereby better the actual condition of the toilers. Without trade unions no living wage and no shortening of hours of labor can be expected. BY THIS STRUGGLE, HOWEVER, THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR WILL ONLY BE LESSENED, NOT ABOLISHED. THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR CAN ONLY BE DONE AWAY WITH ENTIRELY WHEN SOCIETY HAS TAKEN CONTROL OF ALL THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, INCLUDING THE LAND AND THE MEANS OF DISTRIBUTION. THIS, HOWEVER, REQUIRES IN THE FIRST INSTANCE A SYSTEM OF LEGISLATIVE MEASURES. IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT THOSE MEASURES COMPLETELY THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD BE THE DOMINATING POLITICAL POWER."

Second comes this:

"The Congress considers strikes and boycotts are necessary weapons to attain the objects of trade unions. What is most essential is the thorough organization of the working classes; as the successful management of a strike depends on the strength of its organizations."

While last comes this:

"Thus avoiding waste of power by small individual or local organizations. ESPECIALLY DIFFERENCE OF POLITICAL VIEWS OUGHT NOT TO BE CONSIRERED A REASON FOR SEPARATE ACTION IN THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE."

The actual report reads as follows:

"IN ORDER TO MAKE THE TRADE UNIONS AS EFFECTIVE AS POSSIBLE, THEY ARE RECOMMENDED TO ORGANIZE AS NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES, thus avoiding waste of power by small independent or local organizations. Especially difference of political views ought not to be considered a reason for separate action in the economic struggle; ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NATURE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE MAKES IT THE DUTY OF THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERS UP TO THE TRUTHS OF SOCIALISM." Then further on comes the extract given as the second.

I was a member of the commission which brought in the report, and was present at its sessions, and the attempt on Gompers' part to make it appear that the Socialists of the United States are at variance with the "best writers and thinkers in the Socialist movement in every other part of the world" I consider a clumsy and cheap one even for him, though the Lord knows he is clumsy and cheap enough. The Socialists of America and England know what a "fakir" is, but for Socialists on the continent to conceive of a "leader" of a labor organization who deliberately and openly traffics with the capitalist class, and especially with a capitalist government, is impossible. They know of the hot-headed man who wants a fortune and bloody revolution; they also know of the Anarchist who does not want political action of the working class; but creatures who would descend to the level of capitalist political decoy ducks, such as Gompers, they know nothing of; no section of the working class in Europe would tolerate for a moment such as "leaders."

The clause relating to no separate action on the economic field was aimed by the continental Socialists at the hot-headed and anarchistic ones who have in the past prevented united action during strikes in Europe; and by the American and English Socialists at those who in America and England stand in the same relative position as do the Anarchists of Europe—the fakirs—who have, while ostensibly wanting united action, by their treachery at the hustings divided the working class along capitalist political lines, and thus prevented their union on the economic field.

The true Socialist position was taken by that committee, and also by the S. L. P. of the United States, namely, that in the case of a strike or lockout united action must be had for the success of that strike or lockout, and that the So-

(Continued on Page 2.)

PATRIOTISMS.

Two Sets of them That Have Run Foul of Each Other.

Fishermen and Naval Makers of Captures for Private Profit Come in Conflict, the Former are Threatened to be Shot at Sight if they Pursue their "Patriotism".

Let not the incidents that accompany this war be overlooked. To the knowing they will be found infinitely more thrilling than the news about the flotilla off the Cape Verde islands or the blockading squadron off Havana.

Our fishermen on the Eastern coast are learning much about the seat of "patriotism." Their illusions are receiving rude shocks. It so happens that our naval forces have turned into pirates. Civilization has condemned plunder ashore. War, the principle is, may be carried on only by armed forces against armed forces; and when the property of unarmed people is seized, it is seized only to assist the operations of the armed force; under no circumstances is such property seized for the private benefit of the captors. This principle is now being violated on the waters. Unarmed merchant vessels are being captured by our battleships, and the property so captured is not turned to the benefit of the armed force; it is divided among the captors. It is a repetition of the barbaric old style of warfare where the soldiers enlisted with the prospect of private plunder. The "patriotism" of our Navy officers is all ablaze. The prospect of piratically and privately appropriating property to themselves with the aid of the national forces, paid for by the whole nation, has fired them with a "patriotism" that is simply incandescent. What can there be more "patriotic" than to have the whole nation pay for the private seizures of a "patriot"? To carry this patriotism out well, more, however, is needed than United States ships, equipped with United States guns, etc. Cables conveying rapid information are also needed. Consequently, at the expense, of course, of the whole nation these cables are laid.

But lo, and behold! The cables are found cut, every little while. The "patriotic" intentions of our naval plunderers are thereby greatly interfered with. They watch, and look, and inquire, and set scientists and detectives to aid them in searching for the cause of the cables being cut. And they do find out. What is it that happened? They (the naval patriots) had run foul of somebody else's patriotism.

The fishermen had also been boiling over with "patriotism." War? Why, certainly! Makes no difference with what nation. But these particular "patriots" counted this wise: If there is war, we may have more sales for our fish; and as we don't propose to go to the war, but propose to let others perform that part of the programme, we shall remain "patriotically" alive so as to be able "patriotically" to pocket the proceeds of our fish. Then the cables were laid by the naval patriots. These cables cut the nets of our fishermen patriots, and otherwise interfered with the catching of fish for the "patriotic" purpose of selling them. Here we had two "Patriotisms"; separate and distinct—as capitalist "patriotisms" always are, being based upon conflicting, because private, interests, instead of upon public and general principles. The fishermen, in pursuit of their "patriotism," cut the cables.

So far the picture is complete and quite instructive. But it is made still completer, and more instructive by what follows.

One should think that one "patriotism" is worth another. That probably was the notion of our fishermen "patriots." They found themselves mistaken. The "patriotisms" that capital breeds are of different powers; the nearer they manage to identify themselves with the Government the greater their power. In other words, the nearer they come to the point where the whole nation must pay for the means they need to carry on their "patriotism" the greater their power to enforce it. When, accordingly, the two Patriotisms in question ran foul of each other, the fishermen's article went down before the strong hand of the naval man's article. The order was issued that the first fisherman found cutting the cable be shot dead on the spot!

Our "patriotic" fishermen may now have something to think about. In order that the naval "patriots" shall have ample opportunity to make prizes and thus fill their private pockets, aided therein by public property of the nation, the fishermen must stand by and bottle up their "patriotism."

Guess by this time the patriotic ardor of these has somewhat become saner. There is nothing like cold facts to nip capitalist illusions.

Socialist Labor party of Germany, called there Social Democracy, is the first in the political field. Its manifesto is a flat denial of the claim made here by capitalist papers that what the Socialists demand in Germany, the workingmen have in America. Besides the general demand of all Socialist Labor parties for the collective ownership of the machinery of production, the special demands of the working class of Germany illustrate how similar the political conditions are in all capitalist nations. Among other things, the manifesto reminds the workingmen that the government's plan is to minimize the political rights of the masses, especially curtail the franchise. This passage would apply here to a *t*.

The elections are to be in June. A large increase of the civilized vote is looked forward to.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	**55,673**

HOW TO DIVIDE IN THE SOCIALIST WAY.

[Written for the May Day Issue of THE PEOPLE, by PETER E. BURROWES, Brooklyn, N. Y.]

Light's earliest dawn this law of life decreed:
Divide—
Freedom's first thought, her last aggressive deed,
Divide—
Who has not the divider's mind
Leaves not a guiding thought behind,
Leaves still in chaos all mankind—
Divide!
Divide, divide the bond from free;
Just as we are, let's know and see.
Dividing well means unity—
Divide!

This word was uttered at creation's birth:
Divide—
When sunlight smote the dark and formless earth,
Divide—
It liberated life, it ran
Discerningly from beast to man,
In all high thought it leads the van—
Divide!
Divide, divide the day from night;
Divide your vigor from your blight;
Slavery from freedom, wrong from right—
Divide!

If our Columbia's splendor yields not bread,
Divide—
What are her eagles more than Rome's long dead?
Divide—
When labor's all creating hands
Pile wealth and beauty o'er these lands,
And then, a pleading beggar stands—
Divide!
Divide, divide by closing in,
Nearer your comrades through the din,
Shoulder to shoulder you can win—
Divide!

When art and science bar you from their schools,
Divide—
When the exploiter steals away your tools,
Divide—
When Hanna climbs your narrow stairs,
Opens his pack and spreads his wares,
And by his record sweetly swears—
Divide!
Divide, divide, but not his gold:
More you can have, a thousand fold;
If what you make you will but hold—
Divide!

If seeking 'right they mark you for their guns,
Divide—
Then call to arms for their defence your sons,
Divide—
Insulted, wounded, will you rise,
And with your people organize?
Can sheriffs' guns not make you wise?
Divide!
Divide, divide, but not your vote—
The S. L. P. is now afloat,
A sturdy, strong and trusty boat—
Divide!

A WORD TO THE PROLETARIAT OF SPAIN.

Fellow Workingmen—The respective Committees, called Governments, of the ruling class in our two countries have ordered us to fly at each others' throats. The decree is issued.

The attitude in which you and we are placed towards each other exemplifies the deep inhumanity, the monstrous absurdity of the social system in which we live.

What quarrel have you with us or we with you? None. Say that the soil of Cuba be the issue. Has its ownership by the class that rules you in the slightest benefited you? Has the wealth, the increasing wealth, drawn from Cuba's soil flown into your hands in any perceptible amount? Is the "Pearl of the Antilles" a gem that glistens on your brow? The question almost seems cruel. Not only did the wealth drawn from Cuba never fall to you, but constantly, at some periods less, at others more so, you have been forced to mingle the blood of your own veins with the sweat of the brow of Cuba's working class, to secure to your common exploiters the enjoyment of Cuba's fertility. The "Pearl of the Antilles" has ever been but an heirloom of your tyrants and to you an additional scourge. So much as to you.

And as to us, we know full well that, whether Cuba pass over to "us" or is made "free," our fate or the fate of Cuba's toilers will not be improved. Same cause, same effect. The social system under which we both live remains the same. The issue, accordingly, is not one that concerns us. Whom does it concern?

Apart from the general and conflicting capitalist interests in both our countries, the immediate and representative interests concerned are those of our two Governments. Our Republican Government seeks by a war to perpetuate itself; the Government of your Queen-Regent seeks to prevent its own downfall, which would surely follow as a result of its abandoning Cuba. Back of each of these are grouped kindred interests.

Theory, based upon a long line of facts, has long established the principle that peace and civilization can never be so long as nations are overlorded by the brigand class that now holds the reins of power. Together with this follows the principle that the working class of all nations has but one enemy—the capitalist class of all nations, its own nation's at the head of the list.

The war which has broken out between our two nations furnishes the freshest illustration of that. Blinded by lack of class-consciousness, many of our own class, on both sides of the waters, may allow themselves to be absorbed and carried away by their exploiters. Nevertheless the hope is justified that this may be one of the last experiences that they are to make; and that, rising to the full elevation of their class, they may soon take that stand that alone will insure the peace of the world.

In the meantime, across the smoke of belching cannons, and the floods of human gore that this war will cause to flow, we, the class-conscious proletariat of America, reach you the hand of brotherhood.

CARICATURES.

More than once, and each time illustrating the statement with a fact, have we pointed out that the pure and simple trade union is not a labor organization but a caricature of capitalism. An incident during these war days helps prove the fact.

All intelligent observers know that the present war, with sympathy for Cuba as the pretext, is, among other things, but a method adopted by the Capitalist Class to ease up the congested labor market, and help to remove the stroke of apoplexy that the Nation is threatened with. The Capitalist Class realizes that capitalism is the cause of the congestion: the privately owned machinery of production displaces labor and brings on the congestion that threatens collapse. To remove the cause of the disease and place in the hands of the nation the machinery of production, is no part of the capitalist programme. No Class, conscious of its own interests, will cut its own throat. To propose the removal of the cause of the present convulsions that threaten society, would, on the part of the Capitalist Class, be tantamount with decreeing its own death. Intelligently, as a Class, it upholds the conditions for its existence; and, not unintelligently, as a Class, it seeks to avoid the consequences of its own system, by letting its victims, the Working Class, bleed profusely. A war carries away members of the Working Class by the thousands; thus a war relieves the situation, at least for a time. A war is a not unintelligent Capitalist Class method to keep itself up.

Now what do we find many a pure and simple union doing? The congestion of the labor market through the displacement of labor by machinery that causes the Capitalist Class to tremble for its existence, has the effect of crowding down wages. The intelligent labor organization, New Trade Unionism, knows the reason thereof; and being class-conscious, it seeks to remove the evil by removing the cause: to place the machinery of production in the people's hands so that, instead of human beings being displaced, toil, hours of work, be thrown out, and more time be gained for the enjoyment of life. Not so the pure and simple, or British form of organization. With the capitalists, it seeks to relieve the strain, and strains to uphold the cause; and—with the capitalists, it adopts a method that sacrifices its own class. Several of these pure and simple unions are now, not only shouting for war, but showing why they want war, to wit, to deplete the labor market; and, like the capitalists, they are offering inducements to their members to go to the war, which means, to betake themselves off, and leave their jobs to others, and thereby make the getting of a job and the keeping of it, when one is got, a little easier.

What the Capitalist Class seeks, the pure and simple union seeks also. But what the former seeks class-consciously, and, therefore, intelligently, the latter seeks class-unconsciously, and, therefore, as a caricature of the former.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Commenting upon the perpetual struggle implied in the present social system and the loss it entails, the New York "Sun" remarks:

"The Socialists contend that all industry should be regulated by the Government, and that the production of no more of any commodity should be permitted than is demanded by consumers. Precisely how the officers of a government could ascertain in advance the demand for each commodity, and how they would enable the producers of it to earn their living when the demand for their services was not sufficient to keep them busy at their trades, has never been satisfactorily explained. Nor, has it been explained how, under such government regulation, industrial occupations would increase in productivity. Progress in invention would have to stop, lest workmen should be thrown out of work."

The wiseacre who penned these lines has much to learn. Though, by saying of certain Socialist methods that they never have been satisfactorily explained, he would convey the idea that he is extensively versed in Socialist literature, he can not deceive but the ignorant on that head. The very thing he claims has never been explained has been so frequently and so satisfactorily explained by Socialist Deputies in the Parliaments of France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, etc., that the Capitalist Deputies, who had pompously claimed much erudition, sat like nailed frogs in their seats.

"The officers of the Government," that is to say, the representatives of the nation's industries, will be just as able to ascertain what the needs of the people will be in the various departments, as the present officers of the Government are to ascertain what the needs are of the troops they are enlisting for war. A country's need of shoes, clothing, food, and even luxuries is a matter of statistics. The present capitalists try also to "ascertain," but they cannot, and fall into gross blunders, and throw the country into disastrous panics, because their competition among themselves requires each to "keep his trade secrets." Thus none knows all that needs to be known in order to arrive at the approximate figures; while the "officers of a Socialist Government" would have that collective knowledge.

Funniest of all is the notion that "progress in invention will have to stop, lest workmen should be thrown out of work." Here we have a choice bit of capitalist wrong-headedness. The notion herein expressed is that the object of life is WORK; and this notion is all the odder seeing that it is the whole aim of the capitalist, all his scurrying, cheating, lying, swindling, etc., having no object other than to make quite sure that he will under no emergency have to WORK but to ENJOY LIFE. Inventions are now threatened with stoppage because capitalism is making labor so cheap that further machinery will eventually become less and less needful. But Socialism, just because it aims at rendering toil and work as little necessary as possible, will stimulate invention and improved machinery tremendously.

Socialism aims, by the ownership of the nation's machinery of production and the facilities that co-operative production will afford, to remove as far as possible the burden of toil for the necessaries of life—to throw men, wholesale, aye, the whole nation, "out of work"; and, thanks to improved machinery, let that do the work, and afford to the human race ample leisure for healthy bodily exercise and play of the intellect.

But all of this is of course unintelligible to a dense capitalist scribbler.

Strike out "England" and put in "America," strike out "British philistine" and insert "American philistine," strike out "Bechuanes at the Cape" and put in "Pennsylvania miners," "Massachusetts mill-hands," "New York sweat-shops," etc., and the following passage from the London, Eng., "Justice" fits here "like de baper on de vall":

"Infanticide, in one form or another, has been practised among different nations in almost all ages of the world's history. Besides the common practice among barbarous and semi-civilized nations of systematically destroying a large proportion of the female infants, there are records, more or less authentic, of wholesale massacres of children of tender years. In modern times, as one of the results of Christian civilization, however, we are supposed to have abolished all such barbarous and brutal customs. There is nothing the patriotic British philistine prides himself more upon than the belief that in all the lands brought under the beneficent sway of his government the horrible practices of human sacrifice, of slavery, of the self-immolation of widows, and of the exposure to death of little children have been altogether suppressed and abolished.

"But the patriotic British philistine is an arrant humbug. He abhors the very name of slavery, it is true; but the indentured Bechuanas at the Cape, and the factory slaves at home know well enough how sweet and profitable he finds the reality of the thing whose name he abominates. So, too, the exposure of infants is a crime, and their wholesale massacre by the sword is utterly inconceivable. But we have a more excellent way, and one more profitable withal, of dealing with our infant population now-a-days. We submit them, thousands of them, to slow but sure starvation, while we torture them with teaching which they are too weak to benefit by. At an age when they should be in the school or in the playground they are thrust into the factory hell to be used up in the production of profit for the canting hypocrites who subscribe to missions for the conversion of the heathen and for suppressing human sacrifice on the dark continent. We do not kill our children outright; we are too civilized for that. We stifle and maim them in textile factories, blind and poison them in potteries, and starve and stunt them, mind and body, by overwork in field and forge and mine. Surely the saddest sight in all our land is that of the aged, weazened faces of the working children. A savage chieftain being asked what was the strangest sight he had seen during a visit to Great Britain, replied, 'Little children working,' and it does seem a monstrous anomaly that while men and women are clamoring for work, while we are fearful of being deprived of doing our full share of the work of the world through 'foreign competition,' and are preparing to wage war to prevent such a catastrophe, we should, on the other hand, be forcing little children into the industrial arena, to do such work as is to be done."

The capitalist world is one city; and the capitalist class is an international citizenship.

An illustration of "broadness"—not of the sort that consists in swindle, but of the sort that consists in running away from issue—is given by the Aberdeen, S. D., "Ruralist." It wants to "unite the reform forces"; and the way it proposes to do that is to drop all planks but one—a plank for the referendum, whereby "the people will be given an opportunity to rule."

Neither the "Ruralist," nor any of the numerous referendum fiends has ever even tried to explain points, or answer the following questions upon which the "narrow and tolerant" Socialist insists:

First—In what essential particular does the power to vote upon the lawmaker and the law-enforcer differ from the power to vote upon the law itself?

Second—Will the man who is so ignorant in political economy and social science that he does not know that capitalism is killing him and votes for capitalist legislators, Executives, and Judges, will such a man, by the bare power to vote directly upon each special law, have the requisite knowledge to vote down capitalist laws?

The referendum "movement" is nothing else than an attempt at seeming to do something so as to conceal the fact that the "doer" is running away, and feels unable to face the real music. The course of the brave and true is to teach the voter what capitalism means, and to show him that there is no help for the working class without it acquires possession of the machinery of production; to teach the working class the fact that the capitalist class is the foe of the working class, that capitalist politicians must be downed, and that the thing to do is to vote into a majority, and thus into power, the class-conscious platform of the working class that demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

With this knowledge the present ballot is all sufficient. The present ballot, guided and backed by such sound information, will knock down the capitalist politicians, place the government in the hands of the workers, and set these free.

Referendums are a snare and a delusion at this stage of social evolution.

This is May, and as yet the financial report of the International Cigarmakers' Union is not published. There are now overdue the reports of two years. Nor will any be published. The concern is bankrupt, and its fraudulent set of officers and beneficiaries must keep the secret.

How many, some of whom even call themselves "Socialists," and go about hysterically and with the perspiration running down their purplish cheeks, seeking to make people believe they are Socialists, are not deservedly slapped in the face by the Johnston, R. I., "Beacon" when it says:

"You turn up your nose and scoff in derision at the miserable dilapidated tramp, but what assurance have you that you yourself will not be a tramp to-morrow. Supposing you have got a job, you haven't got a mortgage on it. You don't know how long it will last. To-morrow your master may become dissatisfied with you, perhaps a younger, stronger, more active man may offer to take your job at even less wages, a labor-saving machine that will dispense with your skilled labor may be introduced; your masters, who for years have been bitter competitors, may form a combination and decide to curtail production, or any one of a thousand other causes may result in making you minus a job. Where are you then? How far are you removed from the road or the poorhouse? A few weeks' idleness and you become a 'Wandering Willie,' an outcast, one of those miserable individuals whom you now so thoroughly despise."

The San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter," has an excellent poem of Comrade George Aspden entitled "Our Love for the Cubans," two of whose couplets run this wise:

All our prisons are full and our almshouses, too,
But it don't cool our love for the Cubans.
Over Spain's cruel deeds there's a hullabaloo,
Because of our love for the Cubans;
A man out of work seeks his rest in the bay,
A woman makes shirts for three nickels a day,
But with Spain there will sure be the Devil to pay,
If she isn't more kind to the Cubans.

* * *

With an ass's jawbone brave Sampson of old,
Did wonders, but not for the Cubans;
But our Congress will beat him some five hundred-fold,
Oh, how they love the Cubans.
Each member's a Samson, and each has his bone,
Which he's had from his birth, so of course its his own,
And its swing even now makes the Spaniards groan,
Good gracious, what love for the Cubans.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, $2.50.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I have become positively proud of our Government. Of late I was beginning to feel inclined to look upon it as you Socialists do. But you are off. Likewise are you off in the opinion you hold of our capitalist class. If and the Government are not neglectful of the poor; least of all are they neglectful of our soldiers. See how unanimous is the feeling among them of indignation at the foul murder committed upon our marines by Spain in the harbor of Havana. Our Government and our capitalists are now, as they always have been, thoughtful of the weal and the honor of our soldiers.

Uncle Sam—"Always." is good indeed!

B. J.—Yes, ALWAYS. When were they not?

U. S.—How old are you?

B. J.—Sixty.

U. S.—Then you were a pretty big chunk of a ladie when our Civil war was on.

B. J.—I was.

U. S.—And you know all about it?

B. J.—I do; and right royally were our soldiers treated.

U. S.—Did you ever hear about the Legal Tender Act of '62?

B. J.—Don't remember that particularly.

U. S.—Well, this was the situation. The Greenback had depreciated greatly; so much that it took $2.85 in Greenbacks to buy what $1 in coin did.

B. J.—What have we got to do with the money question? I thought you Socialists claim the money question has nothing to do with the Labor Question.

U. S.—And so it hasn't. But the conduct of our capitalists and its Government at that time throws some little light upon their attitude towards that part of the working class that was fighting the Union's battles.

Well, then, the Greenback was greatly depreciated; business was hurt thereby because of the insecurity of prices that accompanies such discrepancy in the purchasing power of current money. Thereupon the Legal Tender Act was passed—

B. J.—And did that hurt the soldiers' interests?

U. S.—It did, as you will see. By reason of this disparity, the Legal Tender Act provided that the credit notes, or the Greenbacks of the Government, were not to be legal tender in the payment of the interest on the United States bonds;—

B. J.—Now, again, I am less able to understand you. Don't you Socialists claim that money must have intrinsic value—

U. S.—Or be redeemable in intrinsic value; and we add that that is the pest that attaches to all money under the capitalist system;—

B. J.—Very well; then where is the wrong in legislating for a payment of debts with intrinsic value or coin?

U. S.—None whatever, provided they had legislated the Greenback clean out of its legal tender power. And herein lies the point. Our capitalist class and Government legislated the depreciated Greenback out of legal tender power ONLY in the interest of the capitalist class, and left the legal tender power sticking to that depreciated Greenback in all transactions where they were debtors themselves;—

B. J.—You don't say!

U. S.—Keep cool, because, if there is any feeling in you, you will be boiling hot before I get through with my story, and show you how these capitalists love our soldiers.

Well, then, by the Legal Tender Act payments due on the bonds had to be made in coin; most other payments could be made in Greenbacks.

The soldiers' salary was not a payment of interest on bonds; consequently the soldier could be and was paid, not in coin, but in Greenbacks.

The soldier's pay was $13 a month. But as he was paid in Greenbacks with a purchasing power that was at a discount of $2.85, the soldiers did not get $13, but only $4.56—that being the purchasing power of the $13 in Greenback that they got;—

B. J.—Thunder!

U. S.—Accordingly our "soldier-loving" capitalists protected themselves; they saw to it that when, in payment of the interest on their bonds they got a thing called ONE DOLLAR, that thing should not have the purchasing power of only about one-third of a dollar; they saw to it that by their law, every time they received thirteen things called dollars, those thirteen things should have the purchasing power of $13, not the purchasing power of only $4.56. But the soldier they left out in the cold.

B. J.—The divvil, you say!

U. S.—They protected themselves by law against the economic law of capital that reduced the purchasing power of the Greenback; but the soldier who was in the front, who was bleeding, dying, or undermining his health for life so as to keep up the very Government on whose existence the payments to those capitalists depended,—that soldier was left out in the cold. The "soldier-loving" capitalist, who stayed at home protected himself with the aid of the Government, but the soldier was left exposed to the working of that economic law.

B. J.—The divvil, I say again!

U. S.—And what is more, that soldier was doubly cheated. They pretended to pay him $13 and gave him only $4.56. Now, Sir, what say you to your theory about the Socialists being wrong?

B. J.—I drop it; I never knew that!

U. S.—So don't make a fool of yourself now. The capitalists and their Government live upon the working class like hyenas.

In time of peace, they live upon the working class in the shops, mills, factories, railroad yards, mines, etc.; skin them to the bones, and shoot them down if they dare "ask for more."

In time of war they live upon the working class whom they enlist, or draft, or cajole into the ranks.

Whether in the soldier's uniform or the workman's blouse, the proletariat is used by the capitalist class and its government as cattle. It cheats them right and left, passes laws in its own behalf; swindles them out of their pay; and uses their very misfortunes as a pretext for Pharisaic indignation on which to perpetrate some more swindle upon them.

That you were ready to be taken in by their false pretences shows only how effective their tactics of rascality are.

UPRIGHT! UPRIGHT!

[From London, Eng., "Social Democrat" by J. LESLIE.]

On Man did Nature not bestow,
A balm for every pain?
A heal for every ill and woe?
(As Spring makes melt the Winter's snow,
And sunshine follows rain).
Did not She write her lesson plain
And large for all to scan?
That they alone were wise and sane,
Who shunned Life's poison and its bane,
And lived to Nature's plan.

She wished, ye drudges, for a wage,
To see her child grow tall,
And gave the earth as heritage
To him and his, through every age,
To be enjoyed by all.
Oh! slaves, will ever ye recall,
Or bring within your ken,
The why it is you cringe and crawl
To live—the wherefore of your fall
To things in shape of men?

She gave you blood and bone and heart,
The reason and the will;
Yet are ye wares upon the mart,
Because from her ye would depart
And keep departing still.
Then let the degradation fill
Your cup of Life to-day—
Toil, harnessed to the mine and mill,
For ye no "City on the Hill,"
Mere wares of breathing clay.

Yet Nature, to your madness kind,
Though far from her ye flee;
Is whispering on every wind,
That woos the open heart and mind,
"There's hope, if ye be free,
My other self is Freedom—she
Would love with Man to dwell;
And this to him's my last decree,
Where'er she is there Heaven MAY be,
But where she's not IS Hell."

Uses of Falsehood.

(Continued from Page 1.)

cialist should take his rightful position, being necessarily the most intelligent among the working class, in the fore front of the battle. But no one on that committee had any use for, and the majority could not conceive of an organization getting up fake strikes for the purpose of creating notoriety for leaders—which notoriety would be marketable at the bargain counters of capitalist parties.

Gompers, as he has now gone to Socialist literature for ammunition against the Socialists, ought to publish excerpts from the other reports of the Congress of 1896, such as the following for instance from the War Committee:

"Just as this system sacrifices unceasingly the life and health of the working class on the BATTLEFIELD OF LABOR, so it has no scruple in shedding their blood in search of profit by the opening up of new markets. The working class of all countries should rise up against military oppression on the same ground that they revolt against all other forms of exploitation under which they are victimized by the capitalist class. To attain this object they must acquire political power."

Or this from the Political Action Committee:

"This congress understands political action as the organized struggle in all forms for the conquest of political power, and its use nationally and locally in legislation and administration by the working class on behalf of their emancipation. The congress declares that with the view of realizing the emancipation of the workers the enfranchisement of humanity and the citizen, and the establishment of the International Socialist republic, the conquest of political power is of paramount importance, and calls upon workers of all countries to unite, INDEPENDENT OF AND PART FROM ALL BOURGEOIS — (capitalist) — POLITICAL PARTIES."

If Gompers will fill his columns with such extracts from Socialist manifestoes as the above, or, better, publish in full the reports of all the committees of the congress of 1896, then the "American Federationist" could give some excuse for its existence. At present it may fill a long felt want as wadding paper, but is sadly out of place as a "labor paper."

Publish some more mutilated extracts, Sammy; it gives us a chance to show your lack of reverence for veracity and to note again the position regarding trade unions taken by the Socialists of the world, including the S. L. P., and thus disprove with your aid your previous statements to the effect that Socialists were opposed to trade union action. ARTHUR KEEP.

Scandinavians, So. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Scandinavians residing in South Brooklyn, N. Y., and who would be willing to participate in the organization of a Scandinavian South Brooklyn Branch of the S. L. P., are requested to communicate with Comrade C. Petersen, 280 49th street, South Brooklyn, N. Y.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Constitutions in English, German and Polish (with platform)	50c. per 100
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Due Cards	40c. per 100
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Emblem Buttons (stud or pin) per dozen	25c.
Metal emblem pins (gilt) per doz.	30c.

When ordering supplies, enclose the cash; it takes time to keep credit accounts, send out bills (perhaps a number of times before collection is made), and all this time, postage and effort may be employed to a better purpose.

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Address all orders to: HENRY KUHN, 184 William street, New York, N. Y.

PILLORIED.

A Capitalist Editor Shown up, and Taught a Lesson.

[The below letter by Comrade H. D. McTier, of Manchester, Va., besides its own intrinsic merit, enjoys the distinction of having been rejected by a capitalist paper. The letter was written to the Richmond, Va., "Times," in answer to an editorial in which the Socialists of Spain were charged with inconsistency for recommending to the Cuban Socialists to desist spilling their blood in behalf of a middle-class revolution.]

Editor of "The Times":

Sir—In reading your editorial entitled "Strange Inconsistencies" in your issue of Sunday, the 27th March, I was very much struck with your seeming lack of knowledge with regard to the question you attempted to discuss. The whole editorial was such a bundle of absurdities that I had almost concluded to pass it by in silence, and would have done so but for this fact—that suffering humanity is being daily led to the shambles by just such muddle-headed editorials and articles as that one of yours. Therefore, I will endeavor in this article to throw some light on what seems to you inconsistency on the part of the Spanish Socialists. Before proceeding to do so, however, I wish to state that I felt very much grieved at your mode of reasoning. I hardly expected it from the honorable editor of "The Times." In your anxiety to blacken the fair name of Socialism you resorted to the tactics pursued by an ordinary ward politician, who, when argument fails, resorts to vilification. You know, or ought to know, that such a mode of reasoning always acts like a boomerang; if you go out into the world and shout: "I hate," the world echoes back the same. So Socialists don't argue that way; their reasoning is from the standpoint of science and knowledge; and, thus equipped, they are prepared to meet all comers. And now, come and let us reason together.

SOCIALIST REBELLION.

In the first place, you simply state a fact when you say the Spanish Socialists are almost in rebellion against Spanish rule; not only are they almost but wholly so; but not in rebellion, as you seem to understand it; not a rebellion carried on by blood and fire, not by the bullet, but, on the contrary, by the peaceful means of the ballot, which weapon they wield with all the power of their mind on every available occasion. And not only in Spain, but in the whole world capitalistic exploiters are cringing and cowering under the power of the Socialist's weapon—the ballot.

Aye, even in the United States, the land of "no classes" (?), where everyone is "equal before the law" (?), the Socialists rebelled against the existing conditions to the tune of 56,000 votes in 1897. These facts are well known to the world, and foretell the fast approaching end of our unjust system of exploitation of the workers by a privileged class. In your nervous anxiety to cover the Socialist with filth, you put him in the same pot with Anarchists, although you deliberately contradict yourself the next moment by stating the difference.

Before proceeding further, let me clear up some of the mistakes you made in your classification of "Socialist" and "Anarchist"; let me give you a brief account of their history.

ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM.

In the early history of modern Socialism in Europe, universal suffrage was a thing almost unknown in European countries; Socialists having been taught by experience that nothing of lasting benefit could be obtained by force, resolved to educate the proletarian, knowing that he, thus equipped, could express himself intelligently at the ballot box. Ah! but there was the rub; the masses had no franchise; how to get it was the next thing. Among the Socialists there were, as was to be expected, some hot bloods, men of high temperament, driven to desperation by the galling chains of tyranny and oppression; these, seeing no hope for success through means of the ballot with the masses unfranchised, advocated force, twitted their comrades with cowardice, and began spreading dissention among the ranks of Socialists, and succeeded in eventually rending them in pieces, the largest part following Bakunin, the Russian Anarchist, the minority remaining firm in their convictions that a peaceful method, if possible, was the correct and only means whereby to attain the end. And, so nothing daunted, they went to work with renewed vigor, with the result that by concentrated effort they forced suffrage from their oppressors, and to-day they have to their credit nearly 7,000,000 votes in the world, and that with only a limited franchise. As for the Anarchists, who followed Bakunin, they, having no stable foundation or well equipped organization such as Socialists have, degenerated into a disorganized mass of individual opinionists, and are invariably found voting for the candidates of the class they bitterly anathematize. Socialists, on the contrary, ever progress onward and upward, presenting a solid phalanx to their common enemy—the capitalist class, whose downfall they see in the near future. Socialists have no room for Anarchists; some of the brightest minds they have had in their movement have had to step down and out for displaying Anarchistic tendencies, for instance, Herr Most, driven to Anarchy by the persecution of a despotic European government, who not only imprisoned him for the heinous crime of criticising his Imperial Highness, but carried their cruelty to Herr Most's widowed mother, making it a crime for any one to supply her with food and shelter while her mainstay was in prison—yet, notwithstanding the provocation, when he became an Anarchist, the German Socialists bade him adieu.

ON WHICH SIDE IS ILLITERACY?

And now with regard to your unfounded assertion that Socialists of the rank and file are of the order that assemble in bar rooms, and are, therefore, of the low, vicious and ignorant class.

As an emphatic denial of your assertion, I will cite one instance of many. In Italy, previous to the last parliamentary election, the Socialists had twelve members in Parliament; those wicked Socialists gave the Premier, Count Rudini, so much trouble by firmly opposing his vicious legislation, especially that proposing to appropriate large sums from an already almost depleted national treasury, in order to send the Crown Prince to Africa on a junketing tour, the Premier determined once for all to get rid of the Socialists, and so, just before the dissolution of Parliament, he had a bill passed disfranchising all illiterate voters, with the result that to-day, instead of 12, he has 19 Socialists to contend with. The fool did not know that only intelligent people become Socialists. But there are other fools, who in the near future will also have a rude awakening.

And now, having, if possible, enlightened you somewhat on the point wherein you were in seeming darkness, viz., the difference between Socialists and Anarchists, and also disabused your mind as to the illiteracy of Socialists, let me whisper a note of warning in your ear: The day when the workers of the United States and the world will cease to take their politics from ward heelers in beer saloons or from capitalistic creatures in public halls, or rear end of Pullman palace cars, and will, in the quiet of their homes or in their club rooms, wrestle with the economic question on the basis of equality and justice, on that day will the whole rotten fabric, built up and maintained by capitalistic chicanery, fall to pieces; nay, even now, the handwriting is on the wall.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF WORKING CLASS.

And now as to the seemingly inconsistent resolution of Spanish Socialists. To the mind of a careful student of history, their act was the proper thing to do under the circumstances, and was done by our English brother Socialist during the Venezeula trouble. The workers of the world have been fooled too long by the cry of patriotism, uttered by those who have an axe to grind, and want to use the workers as catspaws to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. What quarrel have the wage slaves of the world with each other, that they should fly at each others' throats, on the say so of some czar, monarch or president? The workers of all countries are only used as a means to an end; that end the creating of vast fortunes for the idle rich. What wots it whether they are exploited by Despotism or "Republicanism"? Under all forms of capitalist government their lot is the same.

Out of the wealth created by them the workers are handed a mere pittance, called wages; just enough to preserve a miserable existence and enable them to propagate their kind for the capitalist class and its children to still further exploit. Socialists recognize this fact—that all wars for the last century at least have been mercantile wars, engaged in for the purpose of spreading trade and commerce. Of such character were the British wars of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, the age of the great merchant marine service, when the ocean was strewn with wreckage, and battlefields with the bodies of her noblest and best sons,—the proletariat or toolless worker, what was his reward? An armless sleeve, a crutch, and sometimes a pinch of charity in the shape of a pension. That for the survivors; but what of the widows and orphans of the victims sacrificed to the moloch of capitalism? Oh, God! the cruelty of it, the almshouse!

Oh, yes; the Spanish Socialists are "inconsistent"! But are American workingmen treated different? Let us see. What was the condition of the revolutionary soldier at the close of the war? He who had followed Washington through storm and sunshine, whose lacerated feet left a trail of blood through the snow at Valley Forge? Picture him standing there, war-worn and hungry, shoeless and ragged, and those capitalist financiers, manufacturers and merchants for whose benefit largely, if not altogether, he had suffered and bled, refusing to furnish the wherewithal to pay him his meagre wages. But why go and pass all the horrid pictures before your sickening gaze? Enough; war has always been to the hurt of the many and the benefit of a few, and those few the loudest-mouthed patriots, and generally the most craven cowards.

CAPITALISM AND WAR.

If proof were needed to maintain my argument in connection with the Cuban affair, it is furnished by the Rawlin's resolution in the Senate, March 29th, in which he states the prime reasons for United States intervention, viz., that the war between Spain and Cuba has paralyzed American trade with the island, and that valuable American property has been destroyed. Of course, as a secondary consideration, he mentions loss of life. As a rule, what is uppermost in the heart comes out first, and so he could not help letting the cat out of the bag. Business and prosperity must be preserved;—human life be damned.

The Spanish Socialists were right. What use for the Cuban proletarian to shed his blood for the overthrow of Spanish despotism and the establishment of a Republican oligarchy under the thin veil of a capitalist representative government? Is there not misery and starvation among the workers of "despotic" Russia, "constitutional" Great Britain, or "Republican" France and America? Don't tens of thousands of children die annually in our free America for the lack of food and medicine? Is there not anywhere from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 unemployed workers in the United States to-day? Then ask the workers why should they shed their blood for any form of government which still intends to perpetuate wage slavery? It is absurd, and is only tenable in the brain of a fool or an ignoramus.

It is therefore the knowledge of these facts which I have stated that led the Spanish Socialists to counsel their brothers in the United States and Cuba to beware of the middle class war in Cuba. The middle class in Spain being the capitalistic manufacturing, financiering and merchant class, are of those who more immediately exploit the workers, and are therefore closely related to the whole capitalistic class of the United States and of the world.

CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTION.

Again, you make a most unfounded assertion, viz., that Socialists, like Anarchists, are intent on tearing down, but not very particular about rebuilding. With the Anarchists' side of it I have got nothing whatever to do. The Socialists, however, have a constructive programme, and one that will bear the criticism of the whole combined capitalist logicians; yea, we rather like their attacks, the repulse of which always makes our position stronger. This programme is co-operation, instead of the competitive hell of clashing antagonisms which now holds baneful sway, wherein, everywhere, one hears a perfect pandemonium of snarling, hissing, growling, spitting, tearing of flesh and crunching of bones, shouts of savage glee from the successful, curses and groans from the over-powered and about to be devoured ones, hurrying here, rushing there, wriggling, surging, seething and boiling, first in one part of the world and again in another, every one forced to take advantage of his fellow in order to succeed. In the midst of it all the poor wage slave stands helplessly by and wonders what it all means, and why they don't have confidence and put him to work. And this, we are told, is the finest system on earth; the highest pinnacle it is possible for the human race to attain. Christ-like, ain't it? Damn such teachings; blast and scar the brain which conceives and advocates such a hell-conjured idea! No, thank God; it is not the best, and, besides, can't last much longer. The death rattle is in its throat even now, and already the glorious dawn of a new era is beginning to break—and soon the glorious sun of wisdom will burst forth in all its glory and dispel forever the mists which have befogged the mind of the human race during the long centuries of the past.

Right here, I would like to ask, What preconcerted plan had the revolutionary fathers as to the kind of government they would set up on the ruins of the one they were preparing to destroy?

There may have been faint glimmerings of its outlines in such master minds as Thomas Jefferson's, but the rank and file were ignorant of everything except one fact—that was that England was hurting them, and that the tyrant must be overthrown. And yet who will dare say that they were wrong, or that the prophets of those days who said the Republic would not last, were right? The Revolutionary Fathers, by force of arms, knocked on the head that old hackneyed lie of divine right of kings, and established a half truth instead, Democracy or political freedom. It now remains for the Socialists to finish the job, and by the peaceful means of the ballot forever abolish the second half of that old lie, by abolishing forever private ownership of the instruments of production and distribution, and establishing instead ownership by the collectivity—the whole people. Thus will mankind for the first time in long centuries see upon this earth of ours equality and justice; freedom, political and economic; the whole truth.

REASONS FOR THE OLD AND NEW.

And now before concluding this article, let me give you some reasons for the scientific political Socialist's faith. Our present system of free competition was a necessity. Under the old crude forms of production, mankind at best could but have lived miserably. True, there were some few, kings and landowners, for instance, who fared fairly well, but the great masses, what was their condition? It would have been absurd to have proposed in those days the collective ownership of the tools of production; nay, it would have been a fatal mistake, because if all had produced equally and shared equally of the wealth produced, their living would still have been necessarily frugal, and the arduous toil engaged in by all would have lost to the race all refinement, such as art, science and literature; therefore, hard though it was on the workers, it was best for us that it was so. The birth of free competition changed all that; it gave an incentive to production, and by associating the isolated workers (scattered as they were all over the country in little private workshops) into factories, by the application of steam, by the invention and ever improving of machinery, made it possible for the whole human race for the first time in its history to enjoy not only the necessaries but all the luxuries of life, with a few hours' labor each day, the balance of the time being devoted to the upbuilding and uplifting of mankind; it also made possible for the first time the Socialist's plan of collective ownership.

Competition and capitalism did another thing besides those above stated; it entered the field of handicraft, and by its vast strength forced the tools from the hands of the mechanic, and drove him into the workshop, to take his place as a machine hand, thus deprived of his own tools, he has become the wage slave of the machine owner, and is thus forced to sell his labor in the market as any other commodity, the price thereof being regulated by supply and demand. Free competition in its infancy was confined within national lines, hampered by a government of fossilized land owners, who sneered at anything which smacked of mercantile enterprise. The next step, therefore, was to gain control of the political machinery, which was accomplished in England without change, but with limited monarchial institutions; in the United States and France by a complete overturn. A republic is therefore the true reflex of a capitalistic mode of production, wherein the rulers are the capitalists or their representatives, elected by their wage slaves. Capital could now uncoil with freedom, national lines were broken down, and capitalists of all nations fought each other in the world's markets.

There is a certain law underlying the capitalistic mode of production which, though dominant and unrecognizable in its earlier stages, when markets are plentiful, now begins to assert itself with force and vigor. It stands thus: Wealth produced, $4; wages paid, $1; producer cannot consume his products, result—over-production, panics; the world is now presented for the first time with the spectacle of starvation in the face of plenty produced, and why? The wealth produced cannot leave the hands of its owner, the manufacturer, until it becomes profit.

These panics return periodically, each time lasting longer, the space between each gradually narrowing until, as in our own time, it has become chronic. Next, competition forces the competitors to use every means within their power to cheapen the product; hence, lower wages; machines taking the place of men; wife taking the place of husband; children taking the place of both.

Thus the consuming power of the workers is reduced; thus panics are hastened. Again, in the panic thousands of small capitalists are crushed out of existence and down into the ranks of the proletariat, and so help swell the reserve army of unemployed, which the capitalist uses as a lever to still further reduce wages, and which army in the near future will be the club, whereby the capitalist system of production will dash its own brains out with at this point.

A WARNING.

I wish to give you another word of warning. Capitalists who to-day are fond of sneering at and vilifying the Socialists will, in the near future fall down on their knees and thank God that there is in the world such people as Socialists, and that, in spite of all obstacles, they continue to educate the masses in the true ethics of economy, otherwise the name of capitalist might, in the minds of an ignorant and hunger-inflamed mob, be a bad omen, and "à la lanterne!" (to the lamp-post!) might again resound throughout the land. So, therefore, if you won't assist in our work of educating the masses, for your own sake and the sake of those you stand for, hold your peace.

Finally, as the old feudal system, by reason of incapacity, died in giving birth to free competition, which has developed in one day such gigantic proportions, so shall this capitalistic system founded thereon die of the same disease, and from its loins will come the child—SOCIALISM. We must go on; we can't stand still or retrograde; dead men can't govern us; ours is to-day. Our fathers (all honor to them) had theirs, and so upward and onward moves the race towards perfection; whatever stands in the way must be swept aside, peaceably if possible; if not, then by force. So stand from under.

H. D. McTIER.

1803 Everett street, Manchester, Va.

THE WAR.

(Continued from Page 1.)

tors of old used to do, our quack political doctors of to-day practise;—a blood-letting. There are few things that bring more completely home to capitalism the barbaric instinct that animates it than the homœopathic system it has to meet social evils with:—to aggravate them; to seek to remove distress by the application of still greater distress; to seek to secure domestic PEACE by means of WAR. Our ruling class needed a war; Cuba's freedom was a handy pretext. Hence freedom was not given to Cuba without war.

Second—The Republican or gold bug element stands in positive fear of a Bryan series of victories. It knows that the "good times" did not come. It knows, and has seen many an evidence thereof, that the blind masses are likely to rush like a herd of buffalo to the other camp of the existing old parties. If it apprehended a Socialist victory it would not be in such distress, because it knows that it could rely upon the good sense of its Bryan or silver wing of capitalism to join and make common front with it against the workingman's party; and it would hope that it could either bully or coddle enough workingmen into such a camp of combined capitalism to at least give it a fighting chance against the Socialist Labor party. But with a Bryan party it is different. The habit that has become national of the workers rushing from Reps to Dems and back again, gives Bryanism such a chance that the gold men feel positively alarmed. The gold bug element needs a war; Cuba's freedom is a handy pretext. Hence freedom was not to be given to Cuba without a war.

* * *

The talk of a short, sharp war is a blind. Unless events in Spain break the slate at Washington, the war will be carried at least over the pending Congressional elections.

This is the secret of the war with Spain. The nation stands before open graves into which thousands of her sons will ere long be laid;—victims on the altar of the Capitalist system of tyranny.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. city. Price 25 cents.

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ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.

The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. $1 per year.

The Syracuse Socialist,—

The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year.

The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly). 50 cents per year.

The Socialist Alliance, 79 Dearborn street, Chicago. 50 cents per year.

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Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

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ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West 3d street, Davenport, Ia.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

Wilshire's leaflet, "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at $1.25 per 1,000 or $1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Comrade Peter Steenmans, Jr., 52 Guilford street, has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers in arrears are requested to kindly remit when called upon by the new agent.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Infant Diseases of Nations.

To THE PEOPLE:—The "Debs movement," now perambulating this country, is to the superficial observer something unusual, something new of a type peculiar to this country. It is indeed termed "American" by the adherents of Mr. Debs and boomed as such by the European anarchists whom it has ranged under its banner. An examination of its pronunciamentos and the speeches of its moving spirit shows that while it lacks some of the clearness along certain lines shown by "movements" of an earlier day, still its main features are those of its older prototypes in other countries. Marx and Engels, writing in 1848, seem to be discussing not the critical Utopianists of the continent of Europe, but this self same "American" band of emancipationists of to-day.

When in the "Communist Manifesto," they say, speaking of the aforesaid Utopianists: "The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat * * * offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement." Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They, therefore, search after a new social science, after new social laws that are to create these conditions."

Again: "Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to fantastic ones, and the gradual spontaneous CLASS organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans."

Again: "In the formation of their plans, they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interest of the working class, as being the most suffering class. ONLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF BEING THE MOST SUFFERING CLASS DOES THE PROLETARIAT EXIST FOR THEM."

Further on, Marx and Engels say: "In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this phantastic standing apart from the contest, and these phantastic attacks on it lose all practical value and all theoretical justification * * * They, therefore, endeavor, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonism. They still dream of experimental realizations of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "phalansteries," of establishing "home colonies," * * * and to realize all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and the purses of the bourgeois."

The "Debs scheme" is composed of Mr. Debs and a colonization scheme. Men may rave over "personal attacks" and say "attack the principles of the movement (?)." Yet WHEN, and here are no "principles" to attack, or such a multiplicity of "principles"—what is to be done in the case? Let us take up one of the component parts of the "Debs movement," i. e., Mr. Debs and his speeches, and then the colonization plan, and see if they do not fit into the criticism of Marx and Engels of the years 1848—50 years ago.

Debs comes to Baltimore last November, speaks for an hour and a half; in all that time says absolutely nothing that would show that he understood Socialist ideas, but drew, rather, a picture of the awful misery the working class suffers. During the speech the inequalities apparent in society were pointed out, yet the division into classes was not shown; the class interests of the working class were not exposed, and the whole thing ended with an appeal to "united humanity," which unity, as Marx and Engels rightly show, is a figment of the brain, a myth which does not exist.

Debs leaves and returns to Baltimore and makes practically the same speech, only this time going to great lengths in an effort to show that he was for humanity, and an attempt to prove that even the millionaire was equally with the workingman the "abnormal product of an abnormal system." At this meeting the colonization scheme came on deck in the person of "Dick" Hinton who told us that final arrangements had been almost made to colonize 50,000 men and women of toil who would be taken from the ranks of the unemployed and put upon the unimproved land there to build "villages, towns, schools, churches," and to make such a success of the attempt that even "men of wealth who now looked askance would see how well the scheme worked and come forward with their wealth in support." Kelliher, introducing Hinton, referred to the pleasure it gave him to find, when he and Debs arrived in Baltimore, their old friend and comrade Hinton who would "tell us about the colonizing wing of the Social Democracy."

In view of the fact that several European anarchists in Baltimore had been saying that Debs had nothing to do with the colonization scheme, the statement of Kelliher followed by the statement of Hinton that he but waited for a conference with "his chief," nodding towards Debs, to make the full details of the scheme public, is rather peculiar, and shows how united are the different elements composing Debs' body guard.

All of what goes to show that Debsism is not any more "American," than measles and whooping cough are German. The one and the other belong to the age of infancy.

N. N.

Washington, D. C., April 25.

Light From Texas.

To THE PEOPLE.—Having been a populist until after the election in 1896, I would like to say a few words on these Pops.

While the Texas "Pops" were bitterly opposed to fusion with either the reformed or Bourbon Democracy, they had no hesitation in forming a coalition with the leaders of the Republican party and with the Gold Bug wing of the Democratic party in Texas.

Two years ago, the Pops, in county affairs and prior to the St. Louis convention, threw down the bars, so to say, and invited, as they are doing now, all who did not participate in the Democratic primaries to come in and help elect their (?) choice of any who would submit their names to what was called the Referendum Primary. And through the manipulations of some members and the chairman of the County Executive Committee, over half of the nominees for county officers were prominent Prohibitionists, Republicans and Gold Democrats, while well known competing straight Populists were defeated.

After the election of 1896, I endeavored to get some of the Populist leaders and speakers to come out for straight Socialism, but they said: "Would you have us scare the people to death? The time is not yet ripe for Socialism. We know that Socialism is the correct remedy, BUT we will have to secure it STEP by STEP."

They further said that the People's party was already organized, and that after "Plutocracy" had been dethroned, we could THEN think of Socialism, but at the present time it was premature.

About a year ago I wrote to the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn, for instructions how to organize and for further information, and I organized a Section here; but, we were all sentimentalists and did not stick. Some of us going into the Debs' Social Democracy.

It was about the last of January, 1898, when I reached the conclusion that it was almost impossible to do anything for the S. L. P., besides, not thoroughly understanding the tactics of the S. L. P., I became imbued with the idea that the S. L. P. was envious of the S. D. and that the Executive Committee was trying to BOSS IT over the party; and I thereupon joined the branch of the S. D. and soon after I was nominated by the S. D's. for Mayor of Dallas. But when Comrade B. F. Keinard was here, I became aware of the fact that I had made a mistake in quitting the S. L. P. I have learned much.

THOMAS E. LOSEE.

Dallas, Tex., April 20.

Do not Ask the Capitalists for Justice You will not Get It.

To THE PEOPLE.—In the issue dated April 3rd, I informed the readers of this paper about the stubbornness shown by the capitalist management of our Public Library—the entire Board voting against its placing on file, simply because bank president Monfort declared it dangerous to its class interests—the rest of them knowing nothing about the paper, absolutely nothing.

In order to give the rest a chance to examine the paper and exercise intelligence at their next meeting, I sent each one of them sample copies, including Volume VII, No. 38, wherein is told that THE PEOPLE goes into twelve reading rooms of the Boston Library, and requested Monfort as well as Dr. Bean (one of the Board) and their secretary, Wm. H. Kelley, by means of letters to reconsider the matter and grant my request.

April 5th, the date set for their next meeting, came and went, but nothing was done with this case.

The capitalist finds everything lovely as it is, and wants no change.

However, some good came of this affair. It gave me an opportunity to present Socialism to the readers of the local papers, "The Globe" and "Despatch," by means of protests admitted by said papers.

As long as our library is dominated by capitalists, THE PEOPLE will probably be excluded from it. How unanimous are not the fakirs and the capitalists on this point?

Let the proletariat of this city wake up to realizing the fact that the capitalists will feather their own nests at the expense of the downtrodden and let THEM hold the public offices instead of their oppressors; there will then be no need of petitions for anything, but simply demanding our rights and getting them.

CHAS. G. DAVIDSON.

St. Paul, Minn., April, 1898.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

C. K., New York.—Have you read THE PEOPLE to so little purpose as not to have learned that no such decoying or "attracting" scheme can bring people over to a revolutionary movement, but that the only thing to do is to educate them soundly, and awaken in them the sense of the struggle before our people?

L. S. T., Yonkers, N. Y.—Hardly! Your reasoning that the Alliance and its methods keep us from growing is refuted by experience. There was a time in the party's experience when Allinace methods were not thought of, and just the reverse of methods was in vogue. If your theory be correct, our vote must then have been at least bigger than now. Well,—it did not exist.

"Christian Charity," Philadelphia.—By all means, send on the book.

M. W. W., San Francisco.—Yes, indeed, the document is amusing. You would realize all the more how amusing it is, if you knew its signer, "Jacques Frank," and if you knew that "The Greater New York Central Com. S. D. of A." is a mare's nest.

T. F. D., Moline, Ill.—Next time Mr. Gompers makes such statements in your presence ask him why he does not put them just that way in print in his "Federationist," as THE PEOPLE has again and again challenged him to do, instead of printing vague insinuations that are not grabable. If he does, he has been promised by us, he will land in jail as a libeler—unless he runs away like his boon companion Kurzenknabe, who was convicted in this city of a similar offence and is now a fugitive from justice.

L. H. B., Brooklyn.—The only thing the Amalgamated Society of Engineers can gain from affiliation with the A. F. of L. is the gratification of knowing that Mr. Gompers will say: "Another fool caught, to contribute to my rum bills, and aid me in cheating the capitalist politicians with the idea that I have a big labor vote in my pocket."

G. A. W., New Haven, Ct.—Do you imagine that a man who is afraid of fakirs, will dare fight the capitalists? Don't you believe that! Such a man is too cowardly for anything. He may, to-day, at long range fight the capitalist; but when he has to come to close range, he will then find the same excuses to get out of the fight that he now scares up for wanting "peace" with the fakir.

J. R. R., Pittsburg, Pa.—Right you are to proceed from the principle that "If you see it in THE PEOPLE it is so." With those, who, for whatever reason, have not yet learned that, the best proof of the correctness of such statements as you mention is to be found in that the accused satisfy themselves with "violent denials," "scornful repudiations," etc., but carefully abstain from proceeding against THE PEOPLE for criminal libel. Even such proceedings may not always mean anything, as the final issue would show; but at least they have a temporary appearance of propriety. Whatever charge THE PEOPLE makes, it has ample proof for; in proportion to the seriousness of the charge, its proofs are ampler. A statement, that, if untrue, would be a criminal libel, carries along its best proof by no criminal prosecution being instituted. Every sensible man knows that. To withhold spontaneous proof is frequently the wisest course. Time will come when it will be given with a crack.

Socialist Literature.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms, $1.50 per thousand.

1.—"What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
2.—"Socialism," by William Watkins.
3.—"Why American Workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
4.—"Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
5.—"Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
6.—"A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
7.—"Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
8.—"An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working Class Irish of America."
9.—"An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party."
10.—"The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages, English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish).
11.—"Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions."

"The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price, 1 cent per copy; 1,000 copies, $5.00.
"Women in the Past, Present and Future," by August Bebel. 25c.
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"The Proletariat," "The Class Struggle," "The Capitalist Class," "The Co-operative Commonwealth," by Carl Kautzky, adapted by Daniel De Leon. Each 5c.
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"The Eighteenth Brumaire," by Carl Marx. 25c.
"What Means this Strike?" Address delivered by Daniel De Leon in New Bedford, Mass. 5 cents.
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Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the S. L. P. 10 cents.
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"History of the Paris Commune," by Lissagaray. $3.00.
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64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.

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Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

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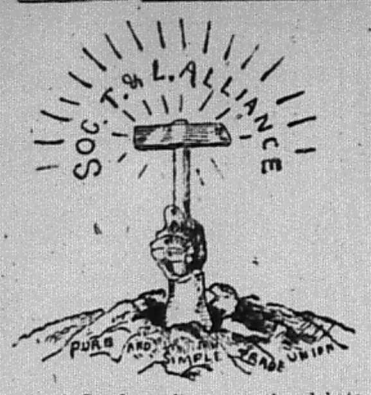
The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



Last Sunday afternoon, the debate, announced in these columns, between Gompers' Boot & Shoeworkers' Union, represented by Messrs. John Tobin and Frank Sieverman, and the General Council of Shoeworkers, S. T. & L. A., represented by William L. Brower and Daniel De Leon, took place at Teutonia Hall. The audience was not as large as it should have been. The Gompers organization had tried everything to avoid the debate; and its last act in that line was to send the capitalist papers an announcement of the debate for THE EVENING. That kept many away who went to the hall in the evening, instead of the afternoon.

When Katie Prior, of D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., called the meeting to order and introduced Harry Cariess, of Newark, as the chairman, any one sitting in the audience, and informed about persons and things, must have felt that a look at the platform rendered a debate unnecessary by pictorially making clear the decided inferiority if not worthlessness of the organization, the cause and the element represented by Messrs. Tobin and Sieverman. This is what they saw:

In the audience none but shoemakers were allowed; but it was stipulated that each of the contending sides was free to have ten invited guests, not limited to any trade, with it on the platform. These two sets of ten told the tale. While on the side of the General Council of Shoemakers and its spokesmen, Brower and De Leon, the ten invited guests, most of whom were present, were Henry Kuhn, National Secretary of the S. L. P.; Lucien Sanial, Laffey, Hickey, Murphy, Marie Bruckman, Wherry, Katz, Rosenblatt and Eckstein—all well known and trusty members of the Socialist Labor party, and representative of the best thought and character of bona fide trade unionism; on the other side of the Gompers organization of shoemakers and its spokesmen, Messrs. Tobin and Sieverman, the following were the invited guests, most of whom also were present: The Haverhill traitor and now Debsist, James Carey; the two relapsed Jewish Anarchists, also now Debsists, Winchewsky and Cahan; Rudolph Modest, also a Debsist, and recently yanked out of the Board of Directors of the Socialist Publishing Association as an unfit man; Bechtold, of the Kurzenknabe brewers, also Debsist; the "Rev." Casson, who was expelled by Section Lynn because the Section did not share his opinion that he was superior to the party, and now, of course, is a Debsist too; the following three beauty-spots on the carcass of pure and simpledom: Brown and Prince (cigarmakers), and Schoenfeld, nominally tailor, now holding a Tammany political job as bridge inspector; and, finally, one Hand.

The debate took place. On the side of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance organization of Shoeworkers it was argued that the working class could not be united except upon sound, class-conscious basis; that the S. T. & L. A. shoe workers were so organized and in existence in New York when the Gompers body, whose seat was Lynn, Mass., came into New York for the alleged purpose of organizing, but for the real purpose of collecting dues, seeing they were almost wholly broken up in Massachusetts. It was shown that in pursuit of this purpose, the Gompers body had organized scabs in New York; and it was further shown that such conduct was a natural result of its national affiliation with the Gomperses, Pomeroys, McGuires, and such other notorious labor fakirs. Finally it was shown that the officers of the Gompers organization of shoemakers, John Tobin among them, had connected themselves closely in the city with such disreputable deceivers of the workingmen as Dan Harris, had secured the assistance of such men to speak at their "organizing" meetings in New York, had listened to the misleading and infamous speeches of these men addressed to the shoeworkers, and had endorsed such statements by not repudiating them;—such a conduct being necessary in order to rope in masses, which, however, thanks to the work of the S. T. & L. A., were not roped in anyhow. With fact and argument it was demonstrated that the workers would gain nothing and only lose by affiliation with what was left of the Gompers-Tobin shoemakers in Massachusetts; look out, they were told, for that organization or that man that, unable to do anything where it or he is known best, must go to distant fields, where they are known least, in search of pastures green—for dues.

On the side of the Gompers body of shoeworkers the argument was pitiful to listen to. As far as there was any argument, it consisted of the old pure and simple assertion that numbers are the thing wanted, immediate contradictions of such statements, and brazen claims of "great growth." For the rest the time of the speakers on that side was to a very large extent taken up with low insinuations, vulgar jokes and hysterical assaults on the Socialist Labor party, coupled with still more hysterical declarations of fealty to the party. The audience looked on surprised at so much talk about the S. L. P. by the Gompers representatives. This turn was brought on this wise:

The conspicuousness of Debsism among the invited guests of Messrs. Tobin and Sieverman's side caused an allusion to that Debsist backing to be made by the S. T. & L. A. side. That gave rise to quite a curious incident. Messrs. Tobin and Sieverman apologized for the presence of such queers on the stage, saying: "We could find none other here in New York owing to the despotism of the High Priest of the S. L. P. (and more such choice expressions) who makes the S. L. P. members of New York sneeze every time he takes snuff (and more such witticisms.) This wonderful sally, which made the queers on that side on the platform look still queerer, was answered on the Alliance side with the observation: "That is just as if a man were to say that, unable to get honorable men to back him, he is satisfied to take dishonorable ones." Thus the bulk of the time of Messrs. Tobin and Sieverman was taken up with the S. L. P., which was not the issue, and with their attempt to justify themselves before the party.

It is not saying too much to say that they killed themselves in New York. The meeting adjourned with cheers from the S. T. & L. A., and not one for the A. F. of L.

The stenographhic proceedings in detail will be published in these columns, beginning probably with next week.

CHALLENGED.

in which he practically insinuated that the attendants at Mr. Debs' meeting, held in this city some time ago, were all slaves to whisky, was not only entirely uncalled for and not apropos, but palpably untrue.

Now, I do not like to make a proposition that is so sure of not being taken up that it will look like a cold bluff. Still I will meet the professor in debate on the question "That This Is the Best Social System the World Has Ever Seen," and will put up all the money for expenses, and will also agree to give $100 to the Newsboys' Home if I cannot carry the audience with me against the professor on a rising vote.

Faithfully, KARL MARX.

OFFICIAL.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS — Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of April 26th, with Comrade Stahl in the chair. Financial report for the week ending April 23rd, showed receipts to the amount of $195.55; expenditures, $161.75; balance for the week, $33.80.

Holyoke requested that Comrade Hickey be sent up. The Secretary was instructed to inquire as to details.

Seattle reported that Washington State Committee had been organized. Resolved to formally recognize the same, and Secretary was instructed to communicate with them.

Comrade Keinard reported about his work in Illinois and Indiana. He is now in Ohio.

Section Pittsburg, Pa., reported expulsion of Thomas A. Grundy for having worked for the Debs party.

Charters were granted to new sections in Hermenie and Quakertown, Pa.

L. A. MALKIEL,
Recording Sec'y.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$439.08
Ernest Lemmon, Barre, Vt.	.55
Frank Kochendorffer, New Albany, Ind.	.50
Geo. E. Jones, Elkhart, Ind. (per Keinard)	5.45
Collected at City Hall, Haverhill, Mass., (per T. A. Hickey)	2.60
Section Bridgeport, Conn. (per T. A. Hickey)	13.00
Section New Haven, Conn. (per T. A. Hickey)	23.50
Total	$484.68

HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

A Call to the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party.

In view of the approaching National Convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and in accordance with the provisions of the party's constitution under Section 5 of Article IV, the Sections of the S. L. P. are hereby called upon to make nominations for one delegate to represent the Socialist Labor party at the said convention.

The nominations made must be sent to the undersigned no later than Saturday, May 7, 1898, on which day they are closed, and the names presented will be submitted to a general vote. The convention will be held in Philadelphia or Buffalo on July 4, or September 19. Exact date and place will be given before a vote is taken.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

Illinois.

COLLINSVILLE.—At the election the 19th instant, the S. L. P. put up a ticket. In the Fourth Ward the S. L. P. ticket polled 22 votes; in the Third Ward, 7 votes. The Section is very young.

CHICAGO.—The 24th Ward Branch opened Wednesday evening, April 20, a permanent Reading Room and Lecture Hall, at 112 East Chicago avenue. All comrades and strangers invited. Lectures and agitation meeting on Wednesday evenings, at 8 P. M., and Sunday afternoons, at 2.30 P. M.

Massachusetts.

BOSTON.—Charles H. Matchett will speak here on May Day, at 8 P. M., at Puritan Hall, 596 Washington street. The Scandinavian Social Democratic Chorus will sing.

The regular meeting of the American Branch meets at Unity Hall, 721 Washington street, on May 2. The number of delegates of the Section to the State Convention that meets on the 28th at Lynn will depend on the number of members in good standing at the time of election. Each Section is entitled to one delegate for every fifty members or FRACTION THEREOF.

SECTION STONEHAM, S. L. P.—THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONFERENCE has selected May 15, as the date; Fuusher's Hall, Central Ave., Lynn, as the place; and 2.30 P. M., as the time for the congressional conference.

Five delegates, at least are expected from each Section, but a cordial invitation is extended to all party members to attend, and such as present membership card will be welcomed. Much good is expected from this conference. We trust, and judging from the gratifying responses from the various Sections to our note in a recent issue of THE PEOPLE, are justified in believing that at this conference some means can be arranged to conduct our agitation in a thorough and systematic manner, throughout this part of the State. Sections desiring further information can obtain same from W. J. Corcoran, Jr., Box 619, Stoneham, Mass.

Nebraska.

LINCOLN.—At municipal elections here, the first in which the S. L. P. joined, it polled 23 votes for Police Judge, Fred. Herman; 20 for H. S. Aley and 19 for A. V. Herman to the Excise Board.

New York.

NEW YORK CITY.—A meeting to organize an English-speaking branch of the 14th Assembly District will take place on Tuesday, May 3d, 8 P. M., at Odd Fellows Hall, 67 and 69 St. Marks Place. Socialists in the district are invited to join.

NEW YORK CITY.—Socialists living in the 32rd and 34th A. D., Borough of Manhattan, are requested to communicate with the undersigned for the purpose of organizing an English-speaking branch of the District.

FRED. C. FULLING, Organizer,
2259 Second avenue.

NEW YORK CITY.—The Students' League, composed of fifteen class-conscious young men representing different colleges, was organized in December, 1897, to study Socialism and carry on propaganda among their friends. The meetings are held every Friday evening, at 112 East Fourth street.

May Day Notices.

NEW YORK CITY, 9th Congressional District.—On May 1st, Comrades Martha Moore Avery, Harry Cariess and B. Feigenbaum will be the speakers in Thalia Theatre. Music and concert. Admission, 10, 15, 20 and 25 cents.

NEW YORK CITY.—All comrades and sympathizers living in the 34th and 35th A. D. are requested to assemble on the corner of Eighth street and First avenue, on April 30th, at 8 o'clock, from there to march to and join the May Day parade.

NEW YORK CITY.—23rd A. D. Important! All English-speaking comrades of the District are requested to attend a meeting for the organization of the English Branch of the District on Monday, May 2nd, 8 P. M., at the residence of Comrade Malkiel, 172 East 107th street, 1st floor. L. A. MALKIEL.

YONKERS, N. Y.—Monday, May 2, at Teutonic Hall, Buena Vista avenue, the May Day Festival will be held by the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. Speakers, A. S. Brown, H. Steiner and B. Feigenbaum.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

At the last meeting of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A., W. L. Brower was chairman.

Charters were granted to L. A. 170, N. Y.; Textile Workers' National Mills, Fanwell Mills, Weybosset Mills, Delaine Mills, River Side Mills, Textile Operatives and Manton Mills, Olneyville, R. I.

A statement from the Progress Club, and a letter from the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, requesting permission to retain said organization, were received. The Secretary was instructed to write to the P. C. and demand a list of its members, also a signed statement by each member who claims that the chartering of the P. C. by the S. T. & L. A. would disable him from doing the work of agitation that he now does, and the reasons therefor. The chairman's ruling on constitution bearing on non-chartered bodies in D. A's. was sustained. D. A. 49 desired permission to organize the Furriers and Plush Box Makers. As a Furriers' Union is represented in D. A. No. 1, and one was represented in D. A. 2, and as the Plush Box Makers were represented in D. A. 1, both cases were referred to the said D. A's for a report.

It was reported from the Textile Centres that the announced convention of the National Union of Textile Workers, heralded to take place at Tecumseh Hall, W. 42nd street, New York, on May 2nd, represented the small remnant of a once powerful Textile Union. With Olneyville, R. I., New Bedford and Philadelphia out of the National Union and in the S. T. & L. A., there was hardly anything left of the conservative crowd.

George A. Moore, Montreal, Can., wrote for information looking for the organizing of the printing trades. They wanted to use the label.

Custom Tailors' Union, Boston, Mass., organized from a mixed L. A., applied for a charter.

A letter was read from T. F. Duggan, from Moline, Ill., and referred to the organizer of Section Davenport, Io., S. L. P.

A grievance of F. Rode, Bartonville, Ill., against the "Vorwaerts," was referred to its editor.

Proletarial Club, Bridgeport, Conn., announced good success; is arranging agitation meetings; will soon organize a D. A.

Leopold Weingardt, Cleveland, O., gave a review of conditions there, and a Mixed Alliance is being formed.

L. D. Usher, Worcester, Mass., wrote that the agitation for the S. T. & L. A. is succeeding.

Geo. Hasseler, of Section Detroit, S. L. P., wrote for organizing material and stated the prospects for the S. T. & L. A. to be good.

Alex. B. McCullach, Manchester, Va., remitted a report which showed that new trades unionism was advancing rapidly.

Geo. Ober, South Norwalk, Ct., wrote that the old town was waking up and desired material to organize.

The vote on the Convention was recorded as follows: Buffalo, July 4—United Engineers No. 1; Progressive Shoe Workers' Union, Buffalo; D. A. No. 11; Cloakmakers' Union, Capmakers' Alliance, Cigarmakers, Alliance, Children Jacket Makers' Union, Carriage and Wagonmakers' Unions 3 and 4, and Prog. Machinists' Union, all of Chicago, Ill.; Prog. Typographical Union No. 83, United Marquetrie Workers, Bohemian Typographical Union, Prog. Musical Union, Brooklyn; German Machinists' Union, Newark, N. J.; Proletariat Club, Bridgeport, Ct.; Liberty Branch Miners, Bartonville, Ill.; Prog. Tailors' Alliance, Buffalo, and Bartenders' Union No. 1, Philadelphia, Sept. 19—D. A. 49, Spinners' L. A., New Bedford, Mass.; Mixed Alliance, Louisville, Ky.; Pioneer All., Brooklyn; Int. Ex. B. Bakers, Boston, Mass., and Broad Silk Weavers' Union, N. Y. Buffalo, Sept. 19—Ind. Bakers, Br. 1, Philadelphia, July 4—D. A. 12, Textile Union No. 8, German Custom Tailors, Machinists' Union, all of Philadelphia; Longshoremen and Seamen's Union and Bohemian Mixed All., N. Y. Next meeting, Wednesday, May 4, 8 P. M., 61 East Fourth street.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone, and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor Party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

1. Any ten persons may organize themselves into a section, provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties.

2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.—Organizer.
2.—Recording and corresponding secretary.
3.—Financial Secretary.
4.—Treasurer.
5.—Literary Agent.
6.—Chairman, each meeting.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1.—Reading of minutes.
2.—New members.
3.—Correspondence.
4.—Financial Report.
5.—Report of Organizer.
6.—Report of Committees.
7.—Unfinished Business.
8.—New Business.

4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each section. A monthly remittance of ten cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of membres, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita, is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the section.

7. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions.

8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee.

9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as members at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn,
184 William street, New York City.

THE DAILY PEOPLE
$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to April 13th, 1898

$4,575.

☞ **Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.**

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
—OF THE—
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

Important to Comrades.

The Bohemian Comrades of Greater New York have decided to start on May 1 a bona fide Socialist paper in the Bohemian language. This is an important step. The proletariat of Bohemian birth in this city has been trafficked upon by a corrupt paper called "Hlas Lidu", that, bearing the mask of labor, has regularly sold out to labor's foes of all degrees. The sum of $300 is needed to start the paper, and 1,000 subscribers will keep it alive. Its birth and continued existence will be of incalculable benefit to our great cause. Comrades everywhere are requested to aid in this work; where there are Bohemians they should be induced to subscribe. The paper will be named "Pravda" (Truth).

Send contributions and subscriptions to Jarouslav Simon, 308 East 71st street, New York.

Syracuse, N. Y.

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Croasdell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.

9th Congressional District.
CONCERT and MASSMEETING
will take place on
SUNDAY Eve., May 1st, '98,
—AT—
THALIA THEATRE.

The following speakers will address the meeting: MRS. MARTHA MOORE AVERY of Boston, HARRY CARLESS, B. FEIGENBAUM and others.

Good talent will participate in the Concert.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union. Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 38

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 22

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 21

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: PETER STAPLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 335 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall. 334

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred Woll, corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Kringe, Business agent. 341

Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8½ o'clock at
231-233 E. 33d Street. 328

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10.30 o'clock a.m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 138—160 3. Ave., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND' AN ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 149th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trimmers Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M. 303

Workingmen's Children's Death Benefit Fund of the U. S. of America.—The Executive Board meets every second Wednesday in the month, at 8 o'clock P. M., in K. Tients Hall, bet. 81st and 82d St., Second Ave. Financial Secretary: Reinhard Lachner, 512 East 84th street. 332

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

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The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 155 local branches with more than 16,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of $4.00 for the first class and $3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $5.00 for 40 weeks and of $1.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time $3.00 and $1.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25—27 3rd avenue, Room 53, New York City.

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For addresses of the Branch-bookkeepers, see "Vorwärts."

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